

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 5558

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR RO UR

SUBJ: RCP 11TH PARTY CONGRESS: ROMANIAN-SOVIET RELATIONS

1. SUMMARY: CEAUSESCU'S TWO MEETINGS WITH CPSU'S KIRILENKO DURING CONGRESS WILL REFUEL SPECULATION ABOUT A ROMANIAN DRIFT BACK TOWARD THE USSR. ACCOUNT OF NOV. 30 TALKS WAS IN FACT MOST CORDIAL ROMANIAN-SOVIET ENCOUNTER IN LONG TIME. OUR ANALYSIS OF CONGRESS PROVIDES LITTLE EVIDENCE OF CHANGE IN ROMANIA'S BASIC COURSE, ALTHOUGH BOTH SIDES MAY NOW SEE CERTAIN ROOM FOR A SOMEWHAT LESS STRAINED RELATIONSHIP. END SUMMARY.

2. CEAUSESCU'S NOVEMBER 25 OPENING DAY SPEECH, LIKE DRAFT CONGRESS
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DOCUMENTS, EVINCED NO PARTICULAR CHANGE IN RCP'S LINE TOWARD MOSCOW,

AND CEAUSESCU IN FACT MET WITH YUGOSLAVIA'S DOLANC AND SIX OTHER FOREIGN DELEGATIONS BEFORE ROUTINELY GETTING TO CPSU'S KIRILENKO. EVEN THEN IT WAS APPARENTLY TEN-MINUTE CHAT HELD ACCORDING TO EAST GERMAN AMBASSADOR JUST OFF THE CONGRESS FLOOR, IT BEING UNDERSTOOD THAT A LARGE MEETING WOULD TAKE PLACE LATER. HOWEVER LATE IN IGNITION, GOR-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP TURNED SOMEWHAT WARMER, WITH NOV. 27 FESTIVITIES FOR KIRILENKO AT BUCHAREST'S LARGEST FACTORY (ATTENDED BY TWO RCP EXCO MEMBERS) AND NOV. 28 SUPREME SOVIET AWARD CEREMONY AT ROMANIAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY (WITH THREE EXCO MEMBERS) TOPPING OTHER FOREIGN DELEGATIONS IN HOSPITALITY AND MEDIA ATTENTION. CEAUSESCU CHATTED EASILY AND AT LENGTH WITH KIRILENKO AT CONGRESS RECEPTION NOVEMBER 28.

3. SECOND CEAUSESCU-KIRILENKO MEETING NOVEMBER 30 UPPED THERMOSTAT AGAIN, AS THE TWO AGREED (SCINTEIA, DEC. 1) TO "INTENSIFY CONTACTS, EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCE AND CONSULTATIONS" AND TO "IDENTIFY NEW WAYS AND SPHERES OF COLLABORATION." UNDERLINED WAS "JOINT DESIRE" TO DEVELOP PARTY AND STATE "COOPERATION" IN INTERNATIONAL SPHERE, A NOVEL FORMULATION IN RECENT BUCHAREST-MOSCOW CONTEXT. CEAUSESCU LUNCH FOR KIRILENKO ATTENDED BY SIX SENIOR RCP EXCO MEMBERS UNDERLINED OCCASION FURTHER, AS DID A CEAUSESCU PERSONAL TOAST TO BREZHNEV. WE SEE THAT TASS ACCOUNT OF CEAUSESCU'S SPEECH (PRAVDA, NOVEMBER 26) SEEMED TO CONVEY TREATMENT SOVIETS ACCORD THOSE RULING CP'S RELATIONS WITH WHOM THEY CONSIDER FAIRLY GOOD.

4. ON THE OTHER HAND, SUBSTANTIVE GAP BETWEEN TWO SEEMS UNNARROWED. TASS, IN SELECTIVELY ABRIDGING CEAUSESCU'S SPEECH, OMITTED UNCONGENIAL CHUNKS, E.G. CEAUSESCU'S QUASI-NONALIGNED APPROACH TO RICH-POOR GAP AND "NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER," HIS DISARMAMENT SECTION AIMED AT GREAT NUCLEAR POWERS, ALL PASSAGES CRITICAL OF CEMA, VIRTUALLY ENTIRE SECTION ON COMMUNIST MOVEMENT (WHICH UPHELD ROMANIAN INDEPENDENT PRINCIPLES), ROLE OF "PROGRESSIVE FORCES" AS SUPPLEMENT TO UNITY OF CP'S, MOST OF SPEECH'S NATIONALIST NOTES, AND ALL MENTION OF CORRECTNESS OF RCP LINE. WHILE PRAVDA PRINTED CEAUSESCU'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF "WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM AS BULWARK FOR PEACE AND USSR'S "FIRST RANK" IN GOR'S FOREIGN TRADE, IT IGNORED PARAGRAPHS ON SIMILAR SIGNIFICANCE OF THIRD WORLD AND ON GOR'S DETERMINATION TO "DO ITS UTMOST" TO EXPAND COLLABORATION WITH CHINA.

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5. MEANWHILE, ACCORDING TO YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR DODIK, KIRILENKO TOLD DOLANC NOVEMBER 28 THAT CPSU HAD UNDEFINED "PROBLEMS" WITH RCP PROGRAM. DODIK SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT CPSU'S KATUSHEV, DURING MID-NOVEMBER VISIT, HAD RAISED WITH CEAUSESCU SOVIET OBJECTIONS TO ROMANIAN PARTY PROGRAM (NOW ADOPTED BY CONGRESS WITH APPARENTLY SLIGHT MODIFICATIONS BUT UNRELEASED IN FINAL VERSION). DODIK SAID HE SUSPECTED THAT MOST LIKELY POINT OF CONTENTION WAS PROGRAM'S HISTORICAL SECTION, INCLUDING COMINTERN'S "MISTAKEN" ORDERS TO INTER-

WAR RCP. DODIK CONCLUDED THAT RCP-CPSU RELATIONS ARE BETTER ON SURFACE THAN IN ACTUAL FACT.

6. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH WHAT KIND OF OLIVE BRANCH IF ANY KIRILENKO MAY HAVE BROUGHT TO BUCHAREST REMAINS TO BE SEEN, BOTH CEAUSESCU AND KREMLIN MAY FEEL TIME HAS RIPENED TO PUT SOMEWHAT BETTER FACE ON RELATIONSHIP. AFTER STRAINED RUMOR-FILLED SPRING AND SUMMER WHEN CEAUSESCU FAILED TO TURN UP IN CRIMEA AND YUGOSLAVIA REVEALED PRO-SOVIET PLOTTERS, ROMANIANS CAME AWAY FROM OCTOBER WARSAW CP MEETING CONTENT, IF STILL WARY, OVER RESULTS. AND IF SOVIETS BECOME MORE CONCILIATORY, CEAUSESCU COULD NO DOUBT USE RESPITE TO FOCUS ENERGIES EVEN MORE TOWARD ROMANIAN INTERNAL PROBLEMS, PARTICULARLY ECONOMIC WORRIES. THERE ARE PLENTY OF REASONS WHY CEAUSESCU MIGHT TRIM SAILS SLIGHTLY, INCLUDING CHAOTIC WORLD ECONOMIC PICTURE, LURE OF USSR'S RAW MATERIALS, SOVIET PRESSURE FOR EE CONFORMITY, AND ANY SINO-SOVIET FENCE-MENDING. HOWEVER, FOR FORM ALONE, KIRILENKO AS FIRST MAJOR SOVIET FIGURE TO VISIT ROMANIA SINCE SECRETARY KISSINGER'S STOP WAS ENTITLED TO HAVE A MEAL WITH CEAUSESCU. WE DO NOT SENSE IN RCP CONGRESS'S RESULTS, AS PUBLISHED TO DATE, ANY SIGNIFICANT MODIFICATION OF GOR'S STRATEGY, AS CEAUSESCU'S TOAST TO UNITY OF "ALL" COMMUNIST PARTIES AND SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AT KIRILENKO'S LUNCH SEEMED TO CONFIRM.

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